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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9881
INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ L SECTION 01 OF 15 MANAGUA 02198

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV PHUM PREL, NU US
SUBJECT: CODEL ASPIN WRAPUP

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
☒ Release () Excise () Deny ☒ Declassify
Date 2/27/02 Exemption _____

WHITE HOUSE FOR WILLIAM BALL

H PASS CONGRESSMAN ASPIN

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: CONGRESSMAN LES ASPIN, ACCOMPANIED BY MESSRS.
ROBERT LEIKEN AND BERNARD ARONSON, AND LT. COL. STU
THOMSON, USAF, SPENT A BUSY TWO AND A HALF DAYS
IN NICARAGUA APRIL 2 - 4. THEY MET WITH: CATHOLIC
CHURCH AND INDEPENDENT LABOR LEADERS; DEFENSE
LAWYERS; POLITICIANS OF THE SOCIALIST, CONSERVATIVE,
SOCIAL CHRISTIAN, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
AND CONSERVATIVE PARTIES; THE LA PRENSA MANAGEMENT;
THE PRESIDENT OF COSEP AND THE SECRETARY OF THE
INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION; COMMANDER OF
THE THIRD MILITARY REGION COMANDANTE JULIO RAMOS
AND VICE PRESIDENT SERGIO RAMIREZ (REPORT ON THE
RAMOS AND RAMIREZ MEETINGS IS BEING SENT SEPTTEL).

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THE CODEL PAID A VISIT TO CHINANDEGA WHERE THE
CONGRESSMAN HELD A GROUP DISCUSSION WITH COMMUNITY
RESIDENTS AND MESSRS. ARONSON AND LEIKEN VISITED THE

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SITE OF THE FORMER SYNAGOGUE IN MANAGUA. THE AMBASSADOR BRIEFED THE CODEL OVER LUNCH AND HOSTED A WORKING DINNER WHERE THEY MET WITH SOCIAL CHRISTIAN AND LIBERAL INDEPENDENT PARTY REPRESENTATIVES. AT A LUNCH AT THE DCM'S, THE CODEL MET WITH HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS. DEPUTY CHIEF OF POL HOSTED A DINNER FOR THE CODEL AND THE FAR LEFT. END SUMMARY.

3. LABOR LEADERS: CODEL ASPIN SPENT THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 2 MEETING WITH LEADERS OF NICARAGUA'S INDEPENDENT LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. THEIR FIRST SCHEDULED VISIT WITH ALEJANDRO SOLORZANO OF THE INDEPENDENT GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF WORKERS (CGT-I) WAS CANCELLED WHEN SOLORZANO FAILED TO APPEAR. THE CODEL THEN MET WITH JOSE ESPINOZA, OMAR BACA AND ALTAGRACIA ARAUZ OF THE CONFEDERATION OF LABOR UNIFICATION (CUS), AND LATER WITH CARLOS HUEMBES OF THE NICARAGUAN WORKERS CENTRAL (CTN).

4. CONFEDERATION OF LABOR UNIFICATION: CONGRESSMAN ASPIN BEGAN THE SESSION AT CUS BY ASKING ABOUT THE UNION SITUATION IN NICARAGUA, THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS CUS HAD, CUS'S ABILITY TO ORGANIZE AND PROBLEMS THE UNION HAD WITH THE GON. JOSE ESPINOZA RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT CUS WAS A SMALL ORGANIZATION, WITH 18,000 TO 20,000 MEMBERS DIVIDED INTO 10 FEDERATIONS; MEMBERS PAID SMALL MONTHLY DUES, AND CUS RECEIVED FUNDS FROM LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN VENEZUELA, CANADA AND THE U.S. HE ADDED THAT CUS HAD MORE SYMPATHIZERS. CUS WAS HAVING PROBLEMS WITH GON REPRESSION OF ITS

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MEMBERS: 17 MEMBERS HAD BEEN ARRESTED ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES OF CATTLE THEFT. MOST OF THE 17 HAD BEEN PHYSICALLY TORTURED, ACCORDING TO ESPINOZA. AS OF APRIL 2, FIVE REMAINED IN JAIL. CUS HAD BEGUN AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE. THE SANDINISTAS HAD ALSO SEIZED (IN THE LAST WEEK) THE CUS HEADQUARTERS IN CHICHIGALPA. ESPINOZA HAD SPOKEN TO THE PEOPLE OCCUPYING THE HOUSE; THEY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS MEMBERS OF THE SANDINISTA YOUTH ORGANIZATION (JS-19J) AND SAID THAT THEY WERE ACTING UNDER ORDERS. ESPINOZA ALSO IDENTIFIED THREE MEMBERS OF THE SANDINISTA REGIONAL LEADERSHIP

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WHO HAD DIRECTED THE SEIZURE OF THE HOUSE.
(DURING CODEL'S VISIT TO CHINANDEGA, LOCAL CUS
LEADER JAVIER ALTAMIRANO TOLD CONTROL OFFICER THAT
SANDINISTA WORKERS CENTRAL (CST) LEADER DENIS
MELENDEZ HAD OFFERED ON BEHALF OF THE GON TO
RELEASE THE REMAINING FIVE DETAINEES FROM THE
POSOLTEGA COOPERATIVE AND TO RETURN CUS'S CHICHIGALPA
HEADQUARTERS IF CUS WOULD PARTICIPATE WITH THE CST
IN A JOINT MAY 1 MAY DAY CELEBRATION.)

5. ESPINOZA REFERRED TO THE PERSONAL ATTACKS HE
HAD EXPERIENCED: ALTHOUGH HE HAD FOUGHT WITH THE
FSLN AGAINST SOMOZA, HE WAS NOW CALLED A CIA AGENT
AND A CONTRA IN THE SANDINISTA MEDIA. HE DENIED
THAT THE USG PLAYED ANY ROLE IN CUS, AND STATED THAT
CUS HAD NO LEGAL STATUS; ITS MAGAZINE WAS CENSORED;
IT WAS NOT ALLOWED TO PUBLISH OR ADVERTISE IN ANY
OTHER WAY; MEMBERS AND PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS WERE
COERCED; AND CUS COULD HOLD ONLY INDOOR MEETINGS.

6. ESPINOZA CONTRASTED THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS WITH

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV PHUM PREL, NU US
SUBJECT: CODEL ASPIN WRAPUP

THE TREATMENT RECEIVED BY THE SANDINISTA WORKERS
CONFEDERATION (CST). THE CST WAS ALLOWED TO PUBLISH

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ITS OWN MATERIAL AND HAD ACCESS TO BARRICADA, THE OFFICIAL SANDINISTA PAPER. THE CST BENEFITED FROM THE PRESSURE PUT ON PEOPLE BY THE GON TO JOIN ITS UNIONS. HOWEVER, THERE WERE DISINCENTIVES TO BEING A CST MEMBER. MEMBERS WERE FORCED TO DONATE LABOR ON "RED-AND-BLACK DAYS" (THE COLORS OF THE SANDINISTA FLAG), THEY WERE ALSO REQUIRED TO GO TO DEMONSTRATIONS AND TO JOIN THE MILITIA. THE CST FOLLOWS EXACTLY THE FSLN AND DID NOT CRITICIZE THE GON FOR LOW PAY AND LACK OF CONSUMABLES: THESE CST DISINCENTIVES MADE THE CUS ATTRACTIVE TO MANY WORKERS.

7. ALTAGRACIA ARAUZ, A CUS LEADER FROM NUEVA SEGOVIA, THEN DESCRIBED SOME OF THE PRESSURE PUT ON PEOPLE TO LEAVE CUS AND JOIN THE CST. VERY RECENTLY SOME MEMBERS OF CUS'S CAMPESINO ORGANIZATION

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HAD THEIR LAND CONFISCATED. THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL COMMERCE (MICOIN) WOULD NOT SELL CUS MEMBERS SUBSIDIZED GOODS THAT CAMPESINOS SUPPOSEDLY HAVE ACCESS TO. THE MINISTRY OF HOUSING (MINVAH) DENIED THEM HOUSING AID. PROAGRO, THE STATE AGRICULTURAL SUPPLY COMPANY AND THE ONLY SOURCE OF SEED AND TOOLS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, WOULD NOT SELL TO CUS MEMBERS. OF THE TWO CUS COOPERATIVES IN NUEVA SEGOVIA, ONE HAD TEN OF ITS MEMBERS ARRESTED BY THE GON WHILE THE OTHER HAD ITS NEWLY PLANTED FIELD PLOWED UNDER BY THE GOVERNMENT. THERE WAS CONTINUOUS HARRASSMENT OF LOCAL CUS LEADERS.

8. CONGRESSMAN ASPIN ASKED ABOUT DISCONTENT. ALTHOUGH ESPINOZA SAID THAT HE COULD NOT ESTIMATE THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WERE SEEN AS "ENEMIES" OF THE GON, HE FELT THAT 90 PERCENT OF CAMPESINOS AND WORKERS WERE DISCONTENT AND NO LONGER AGREED WITH THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POLICIES OF THE FSLN. IF THE FSLN CONTINUED ON ITS PRESENT COURSE THERE WOULD BE WAR FOR MANY YEARS, WITH OR WITHOUT U.S. AID TO THE CONTRAS. ESPINOZA SAID THAT THIS WAS SO BECAUSE THE PROBLEM WAS NOT THAT THE U.S. GAVE ARMS, BUT THAT THERE WERE NICARAGUANS WHO SAW NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO FIGHT. ESPINOZA STATED THAT

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CUS DID NOT LIKE TO GIVE AN OPINION ON THE QUESTION OF U.S. AID TO THE CONTRAS, BUT THAT IF NICARAGUA HAD DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS THERE WOULD NOT BE SO MANY PEOPLE IN EXILE OR SO MANY PEOPLE READY TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. IF THE FSLN ACCEPTED PLURALISM AND THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, CONTINUED ESPINOZA, RATHER THAN CONTINUING WITH AN IDEOLOGICAL PROGRAM THAT THE PEOPLE DID

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NOT WANT, THERE COULD BE PEACE. THIS WOULD REQUIRE DIALOGUE BETWEEN ALL SIDES. ESPINOZA RIDICULED GON STATEMENTS ABOUT DIALOGUE, SAYING "YOU DON'T GET RESULTS FROM TALKING ONLY TO YOUR FRIENDS, YOU HAVE TO TALK TO YOUR ENEMIES."

9. OMAR BACA, ANOTHER CUS LEADER, GAVE A GLOOMIER ASSESSMENT. HE POINTED TO THE DECLINING ECONOMIC SITUATION, AND SAID THAT A CUS IN-HOUSE STUDY SHOWED A PROJECTED YEARLY INFLATION RATE OF 800 PERCENT. THIS CONTINUING HIGH INFLATION WAS THE ROOT OF LABOR UNREST, AND THE CAUSE OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY WHICH IS DIRECTED NOT AGAINST THE CONTRA, BUT AGAINST THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE. BACA, LIKE ESPINOZA, IDENTIFIED SANDINISTA REPRESSION AND THE GON PAY AND PRICE POLICIES AS THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM. HE STATED THAT THE GON HAD BEGUN TO MOVE TO A "CUBAN SYSTEM" OF SALARIES, BUT THAT THESE SALARIES DID NOT KEEP UP WITH INFLATION. ALTHOUGH THE GON SUPPOSEDLY SOLD BASIC GOODS AT LOW, SUBSIDIZED PRICES, BACA SAID THAT THESE GOODS WERE RARELY AVAILABLE. INFLATION, HE SAID, WOULD LEAD TO STRIKES, AND THE SANDINISTA TREATMENT FOR STRIKERS WAS PRISON. WHEN ASKED WHY HE CONTINUED, AND IF IT WOULDN'T BE EASIER TO COOPERATE, BACA RESPONDED THAT IF HE DID COOPERATE WITH THE GON HE WOULD HAVE TO RENOUNCE HIS PRINCIPLES. IN ANY CASE, HE POINTED OUT, HE WOULD ONLY BE USEFUL TO THE GON FOR ABOUT FIFTEEN DAYS: AFTER THAT, THEY WOULD NEVER TRUST HIM AND HE WOULD EVENTUALLY END UP IN PRISON.

10. OFF THE SUBJECT OF LABOR, THE CUS LEADERS ALSO DISCUSSED WHAT THEY CALLED THE SANDINISTA'S "ANTI SEMITIC CAMPAIGN." THE TOPIC AROSE IN A DISCUSSION

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INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV PHUM PREL, NU US
SUBJECT: CODEL ASPIN WRAPUP

OF FALLING PRIVATE INVESTMENT, WHICH THE CUS LEADERS
BLAMED ON THE GON CONFISCATION POLICIES. ESPINOZA
USED THE CONFISCATIONS EXPERIENCED BY THE SMALL
JEWISH COMMUNITY IN NICARAGUA AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE
NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THIS POLICY, LEADING TO SEVERAL
QUESTIONS ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM FROM THE CODEL.
ESPINOZA SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN ORGANIZED ANTI-
SEMITIC CAMPAIGN FROM 1980 TO 1984. BEFORE THE
START OF THE CAMPAIGN, THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN
NICARAGUA TOTALLED 70 TO 80 PEOPLE. HE ESTIMATED
THAT IT NOW TOTALLED FIVE. THE CAMPAIGN BEGAN AS
A RESULT OF ISRAELI MILITARY SUPPLIES TO SOMOZA
IN THE FINAL DAYS OF THE WAR, AND BECAUSE SOME JEWS
HAD BEEN CLOSELY LINKED TO THE SOMOZA REGIME. WHEN
ASKED BY MR. LEIKEN WHETHER THIS CAMPAIGN WAS ANTI-
SEMITIC OR ANTI-SOMOZA, ESPINOZA REPLIED THAT THE
SANDINISTAS TOOK CARE TO CONFUSE THE ISSUE.

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ESPINOZA SAID THAT THE MANAGUA SYNAGOGUE BUILDING
WAS CONFISCATED BY THE GON AND WAS NOW THE HEADQUARTERS

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OF ONE OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS (ANS - THE
SANDINISTA CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION).

11. NICARAGUAN WORKERS CENTRAL

CODEL ASPIN'S MEETING WITH CARLOS HUEMBES OF THE
NICARAGUAN WORKERS CENTRAL (CTN), WHICH THE CUS
LEADERS HAD DESCRIBED AS A POLITICALLY ACTIVE AND
ANTI-SANDINISTA ORGANIZATION LINKED TO THE SOCIAL
CHRISTIAN PARTY (PSC), PRODUCED MANY OF THE SAME
STATEMENTS ABOUT THE SITUATION OF LABOR IN NICARAGUA.
THE CTN SAID HUEMBES, WAS THE SECOND LARGEST LABOR
ORGANIZATION IN NICARAGUA (THE SANDINISTA CST WAS
FIRST) AND BEFORE THE REVOLUTION THE CTN HAD BEEN
FIRST. AT ITS PEAK, CTN HAD 50,000 MEMBERS; NOW
IT HAD 20,000. HUEMBES SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT SURPRISING
WHEN ONE CONSIDERED THAT NICARAGUA'S ECONOMY HAS
RETREATED TO 1957 LEVELS OF PRODUCTION UNDER THE
SANDINISTAS. CTN HAD NO MONTHLY MEMBERSHIP FEE,
PAYMENT OF DUES WAS VOLUNTARY AS WORKERS EARNED
TOO LITTLE TO BE ASSESSED REGULAR FEES. HUEMBES
SAID THAT THE CTN RECEIVED FUNDS FROM INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS; HE ADDED THAT WHEN THE CTN RECEIVED
MONEY FROM ABROAD THE FSLN CALLED IT CIA MONEY,
BUT IF THE CST GOT MONEY FROM THE SAME SOURCE, IT
WAS WELCOMED AS A GIFT. THE CTN WAS DENIED THE
RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; IT CANNOT STRIKE;
IT WAS NOT OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED BY THE GON;
FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY WAS RESTRICTED; AND THE CTN
WAS DENIED ACCESS TO THE MEDIA. HUEMBES ADDED THAT
THIS WAS WHY THE CTN WAS IN THE CIVIC OPPOSITION.

12. HUEMBES HIMSELF HAD BEEN ACCUSED OF BEING A CIA

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AGENT. HIS PICTURE HAS BEEN RELEASED BY THE GON TO

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THE MEDIA AND SEVERAL CTN MEMBERS HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND FORCED TO CONFESS THAT HUEMBES WAS IMPLICATED IN PLOTTING AGAINST THE GON. HUEMBES SAID THAT THE ALL-PERVASIVE SECURITY APPARATUS OF THE SANDINISTAS MEANT THAT YOU CAN'T BE SAFE ANYWHERE IN NICARAGUA, ESPECIALLY AS THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ADVISORS TO THE SECURITY POLICE COULD "TEAR THE TRUTH OUT OF YOU." HUEMBES CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT IT WAS THE "LAW OF THE JUNGLE" IN NICARAGUA. HE BLAMED UNION PERSECUTION ON THE GON BEING IN THE "SOVIET ORBIT" AND TRYING TO ACT LIKE CUBA OR THE USSR.

13. HUEMBES SPOKE BRIEFLY ON THE ELECTIONS OF 1984. HE SAID THAT THE SANDINISTAS SAW THEM AS A PROPAGANDA PLOY. THE OPPOSITION WAS ALLOWED ONLY TWELVE WEEKS TO CAMPAIGN: THEY WERE DENIED ACCESS TO THE MEDIA AND NOT PERMITTED FREE MOVEMENT. ASSEMBLIES WERE OFTEN FORBIDDEN BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THE TURBAS (FSLN MOBS) BROKE UP FOUR OF THE EARLY RALLIES. HUEMBES SAID THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE HELD TO SATISFY THE SANDINISTAS'S "BOURGEOISIE" FRIENDS IN EUROPE AND THE U.S., AND HE ADDED THAT LONG AGO THE SANDINISTAS SAID THAT NEITHER "BULLETS NOR BALLOTS" WOULD REMOVE THEM FROM POWER ONCE THEY GOT IN. HE ASKED: DO MARXISTS EVER LOSE ELECTIONS?

14. CONGRESSMAN ASPIN ASKED ABOUT THE UNION'S CONDITION, AND WHETHER THE INDEPENDENT LABOR UNIONS WERE HEADED FOR EXTINCTION. HUEMBES FELT THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SANDINISTAS WOULD LIKE TO "FINISH" THE UNION -- HE RELATED HOW HE HAD BEEN TOLD IN ONE MEETING WITH THE FSLN THAT THE SANDINISTAS WANT "ONE PARTY, ONE ARMY AND ONE UNION" -- THEY WERE

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CONSTRAINED FROM DOING SO FOR ECONOMIC REASONS.
THE SANDINISTAS NEEDED THE CTN TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR
OSTENSIBLE PLURALISM, IN ORDER TO CONTINUE TO
RECEIVE AID FROM THE WEST. HE ASSERTED THAT
THE SOVIET BLOC COULD NOT AFFORD TO SUPPORT NICARAGUA
IN THE MANNER IT SUPPORTED CUBA. HUEMBES ADDED
THAT THE PERSECUTION AND THE DECLINING ECONOMY WERE
PRODUCING MORE MEMBERS FOR THE INDEPENDENT UNIONS.
HUEMBES SAID THAT THE LEVEL OF DISCONTENT WAS
SERIOUS, AND THAT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY WOULD
CONTINUE PAST ITS OCTOBER EXPIRATION DATE. A
WEAK GOVERNMENT CANNOT AFFORD LIBERTY, SAID HUEMBES,
AND THIS GOVERNMENT HAS LOST CREDIBILITY.

15. HUEMBES ADDED THAT THE POPULAR MOOD WAS APPROACHING
WHAT IT HAD BEEN IN 1979. PEOPLE WERE AS ANTI-
SANDINISTA AS THEY WERE ANTI-SOMOZA, BUT THEY WERE
TIRED OF WAR AND FIGHTING. HUEMBES WENT ON TO
SPECULATE THAT 1979 HAD BEEN "TOO EARLY" TO

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ESTABLISH A COMMUNIST REGIME IN CENTRAL AMERICA,
THAT AS LONG AS NICARAGUA HAD DEMOCRATIC NEIGHBORS
THE SANDINISTAS WOULD NOT BE SECURE. THE SANDINISTAS
CANNOT SURVIVE, ADDED HUEMBES, "IF THEY DON'T
EXPAND THEIR BORDERS." SANDINISTA STRATEGY WAS TO
USE PROVOCATION AND A REJECTION OF DIALOGUE. HE
SPECULATED FURTHER THAT SOME SANDINISTAS, CONSCIOUS
OF THE FAILURE OF THEIR PROGRAMS, NOW, K*=@*2)
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DESCRIBED ORTEGA'S OFFER AS SIMPLY A DELAYING TACTIC. HE SAID ORTEGA HAD NO INTENTION OF REMOVING BORGE BUT THAT IT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF THE GON TO DELAY AS LONG AS POSSIBLE BEING CONFRONTED WITH HAVING TO SIGN THE CONTADORA ACT. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, BRIONES SAID THAT WERE BORGE IN FACT TO BE REMOVED, IT WOULD IN NO WAY AFFECT THE STRUCTURE OR POLICIES OF THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT. SHOULD BORGE BE REMOVED, HE SAID, HE WOULD BE REPLACED AS SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PROLONGED POPULAR WAR TENDENCY BY EITHER RUIZ OR ARCE AND ANOTHER MEMBER OF THAT FACTION WOULD BE ELEVATED TO COMANDANTE OF THE REVOLUTION.

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21. FOR THE NINE COMANDANTES, SAID BRIONES, THERE ARE ANOTHER NINE PREPARED TO STEP INTO THEIR SHOES. OF THE SECOND NINE COMANDANTES, HE SAID, RENE NUNEZ WAS THE MOST POWERFUL. BUT NUNEZ, SHOULD ONE OF THE COMANDANTES DIE, WOULD NOT AUTOMATICALLY BECOME THE NEW NINTH COMANDANTE. RATHER, THE NEW COMANDANTE WOULD BE SELECTED FROM THE FACTION OF THE DECEASED.

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22. ARON SANCHEZ TALKED AT LENGTH ON GON SUBSIDIES PROVIDED TO EL NUEVO DIARIO (END). UP UNTIL EARLY 1985, HE SAID, THE SUBSIDIES AMOUNTED TO 100,000 CORDOBAS PER MONTH. SOME OF THAT SUBSIDY WAS PROVIDED IN THE FORM OF MASS ORGANIZATION ADVERTISING BUT IN ANY MONTH WHEN MASS

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28. THE CODEL ALSO HEARD ABOUT RECENT GOVERNMENT ACTIONS AGAINST COSEP, INCLUDING THE MEMBERS OF COSEP BEING SUMMONED TO STATE SECURITY AND TOLD BY LENIN CERNA NOT "TO DARE" TO HOLD A PLANNED MEETING. HE WARNED THEM TO "REMEMBER JORGE SALAZAR." BOLANOS SAID THAT MEMBERS OF COSEP RECEIVE THREATENING PHONE CALLS AT ALL HOURS OF THE DAY AND NIGHT, AND NOTED THE DIFFICULTY HE HAD EXPERIENCED TRYING TO FIND AN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, DUE TO THE TREATMENT THE PREVIOUS TWO SECRETARIES HAD RECEIVED AT THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE FIRST SECRETARY HAD LEFT HIS HOME ONE MORNING TO FIND THE TIRES ON HIS CAR GONE. THEN THE WINDOWS OF THE CAR WERE SMASHED. ALL DURING THIS TIME HE WAS RECEIVING THREATENING PHONE CALLS. THEN HE WAS TOLD THAT WHAT HAD BEEN DONE TO HIS CAR WOULD BE DONE TO HIS FAMILY. HE RESIGNED. THE NEXT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, HIRED LAST NOVEMBER, WAS SHORTLY THEREAFTER TAKEN TO STATE SECURITY DETENTION IN JINOTEPE, WHERE HE WAS HELD FOR 18 DAYS. DURING THE TIME HE WAS IN CAPTIVITY, HE WAS FORCED TO STAND NAKED ON A 100-POUND BLOCK OF ICE UNTIL HE MELTED

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THROUGH IT, A PERIOD OF SEVERAL HOURS. HE LOST 18 POUNDS DURING HIS CAPTIVITY. UPON HIS RELEASE, HE ALSO RESIGNED HIS JOB.

29. CATHOLIC BISHOPS

AFTER THE MEETING WITH ENRIQUE BOLANOS, THE CODEL TRAVELLED TO THE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE TO HOLD SEPARATE TALKS WITH BISHOPS PABLO ANTONIO VEGA OF JUIGALPA AND BOSCO VIVAS (AUXILIARY BISHOP OF MANAGUA). BISHOP VEGA STATED THAT ALTHOUGH HE MAINTAINED CONVERSATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT, THEY ACCUSED HIM OF BEING A CONTRA. THIS WAS AMUSING, SINCE, DURING THE SOMOZA YEARS, HE WAS ACCUSED OF BEING A COMMUNIST. HE STATED THAT IF THE PROBLEM INSIDE NICARAGUA WAS ONLY THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT, THE PEOPLE COULD PROBABLY HAVE EXPELLED THE GOVERNMENT BY NOW. BUT, BECAUSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN NICARAGUA (SOVIETS, CUBANS, BULGARIANS, CZECHS AND EVEN PALESTINIANS) IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PEOPLE TO DO THIS. HE SAID A MAJOR PROBLEM WITH WHICH THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT WAS HAVING TO

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CONTEND IS THE FLOCKING OF PEOPLE TO THE CHURCH. HE SAID THAT THERE WERE MORE SEMINARY APPLICANTS NOW THAN BEFORE, AND, NOT ONLY DUE TO THE DRAFT.

30. WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT THE CURRENT STATUS OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS, BISHOP VEGA COMPLAINED THAT CHURCH SCHOOLS WERE NOT ALLOTTED TIME FOR RELIGIOUS STUDIES BECAUSE CLASSES WERE INTERRUPTED BY SANDINISTA YOUTH GROUPS WHO CALL FOR POLITICAL MEETINGS. HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTED TO CONTROL THE TEACHERS AND THAT STUDENTS WERE INTIMIDATED INTO JOINING YOUTH GROUPS BY THREATS OF

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BAD OR FAILING GRADES. HE STATED THAT A MAJORITY OF STUDENTS STILL WANTED TO ATTEND THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS. HOWEVER, A MAJOR PROBLEM WAS THAT THE GOVERNMENT REGULATES WHAT SALARIES WERE TO BE PAID TO THE TEACHERS, IN ADDITION TO REGULATING WHAT TUITIONS CAN BE CHARGED TO THE STUDENTS. THE GOVERNMENT THEN CHOOSES WHICH SCHOOLS TO SUBSIDIZE AND FORCES THE SCHOOLS TO ACCEPT GOVERNMENT TEACHERS.

31. ACCORDING TO BISHOP VEGA, IN SPITE OF GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AGAINST PUBLIC PROCESSIONS, HOLY WEEK EVENTS HAD DOUBLE THE NORMAL PARTICIPATION THIS YEAR. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE ESTIMATED THERE WERE BETWEEN SIX AND EIGHT THOUSAND CONTRAS IN THE CHONTALES REGION OF NICARAGUA.

32. MONSIGNOR BOSCO VIVAS TOLD THE CODEL THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT WAS MORE DIFFICULT NOW. HE SAID THAT THE CHURCH WAS UNDER ATTACK BY THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED MEDIA AS WELL AS BY THE POPULAR CHURCH. ACCORDING TO VIVAS, STATEMENTS BY BISHOPS, CARDINAL OBANDO Y BRAVO AND THE POPE WERE ATTACKED IN THE GOVERNMENT MEDIA WITHOUT EVER HAVING BEEN PUBLISHED FOR THE PEOPLE TO READ. HE RECOUNTED TO THE CODEL TWO PERSONAL ATTACKS BY THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST HIM.

33. IN JULY OF 1982, THE CHURCH DECIDED TO DEAL WITH A PARISH PRIEST WHO WAS COOPERATING WITH THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT. THEY WERE GOING TO LEAVE HIM WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ONE CHURCH INSTEAD OF TWO. VIVAS SAID THAT MASS GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS PROTESTED, TOOK OVER THE CHURCH AND STOPPED THE MASS. WHEN VIVAS TRIED TO GET THE CHALICE FROM THE ALTAR, HE WAS ATTACKED BY TURBAS WHO ATTEMPTED TO TAKE THE CHALICE AWAY FROM HIM. THE TURBAS

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CLOSED THE DOOR SO THAT HE COULD NOT LEAVE, BUT FORTU-
NATELY SOME SEMINARIANS WHO WERE WAITING OUTSIDE WERE ABLE

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TO GET IN TO HELP HIM.

34. THE SECOND ATTACK OCCURRED IN OCTOBER OF 1984. THE
SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT FALSELY ACCUSED THE CHURCH OF
TRYING TO ORGANIZE DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE DRAFT. ON
SATURDAY AND SUNDAY NIGHTS, CHURCHES IN MANAGUA WERE
ATTACKED BY TURBAS. VIVAS WAS REQUIRED TO GO TO A CHURCH
IN THE BARRIO SAN JUDAS IN MANAGUA ON SUNDAY AND WHEN HE
ARRIVED, THE CHURCH WAS SURROUNDED BY MOBS AND ARMED
MILITARY. WHEN HE GOT OUT OF HIS CAR AND ATTEMPTED TO GO
INTO THE CHURCH, THE TURBAS PUSHED HIM BACK TWO BLOCKS.

35. MR. LEIKEN INQUIRED IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY ATTEMPTS BY
THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT T DISCREDIT THE CHURCH.
MSGR. VIVAS REPLIED THAT THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT HAD
TRIED TO SHOW THE PRIESTS ENGAGING IN IMMORAL ACTS OR
CONTRA ACTIVITY. HE SAID THE CHURCH HAD BEEN ACCUSED OF
BEING ON THE SIDE OF THE RICH, POWERFUL AND CIA, AND BEING
AGAINST THE POOR. LAYMEN, PRIESTS AND NUNS HAD BEEN CALLED
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TO THE STATE SECURITY DIRECTORATE, FINGERPRINTED AND WARNED NOT TO SPEAK ABOUT ANYTHING THAT COULD BE DETERMINED POLITICAL OR THEY WOULD FEEL THE WEIGHT OF THE LAW.

36. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE ATTITUDE OF THE POPULATION OF NICARAGUA TOWARD THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT, VIVAS SAID THAT, IN HIS ESTIMATION, ABOUT 70 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION WAS DISCONTENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THE PEOPLE, HOWEVER, ARE AFRAID TO REACT DUE TO PRESSURE, THREATS AND REPORTS OF CRUELTY TO PRISONERS. HE SAID THAT AN INSURRECTION WOULD NOT OCCUR, DUE TO INSECURITY OF THE POPULATION--FEAR AND LACK OF WEAPONS.

37. CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADERS

AFTER THE MEETINGS WITH THE CHURCHMEN, THE CODEL MET SEPARATELY WITH MARIO RAPPACCIOLI OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF NICARAGUA (PCN) AND MYRIAM ARGUELLO OF THE CONSERVATIVE INSTITUTE.

38. MARIO RAPPACCIOLI TOLD THE CODEL THAT THE PCN ACTIVITIES INCLUDE MONTHLY MEETINGS IN MANAGUA AND PUBLICATION OF A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER. HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HIS PARTY WAS ILLEGAL, IT HAD DRAWN UP A CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION COULD NOT BE RATIFIED, HOWEVER, DUE TO A PROHIBITION AGAINST HOLDING MEETINGS.

39. IN TALKING ABOUT THE NEW SANDINISTA-PROPOSED NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, HE SAID THAT THE PCN WAS GOING TO CIRCULATE A PAPER ANALYZING IT. AS AN EXAMPLE OF SOME OF THE INCONSISTENCIES IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION, HE NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT HAD THE POWER TO SUE AN INDIVIDUAL, THE INDIVIDUAL HAD TO COLLECT 40,000 SIGNATURES

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TO SUE THE GOVERNMENT.

40. RAPPACCIOLI TOLD THE CODEL THAT SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE ABOUT THE SITUATION IN NICARAGUA. HE SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH NICARAGUANS HATE WAR, THEY HATE COMMUNISM EVEN

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MORE. DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS, ACCORDING TO RAPPACCIOLI, THE COUNTRY HAD BEEN BANKRUPTED AND THE CONTRA FORCES HAD DOUBLED. THE CODEL ASKED IF THERE WERE POPULAR SUPPORT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE FOR THE CONTRAS. RAPPACCIOLI SAID THAT IF THE CONSERVATIVE LEADERS ASKED THE PEOPLE TO JOIN THE CONTRAS, THEY PROBABLY WOULD. HOWEVER, WITHOUT A FIRM COMMITMENT FROM THE UNITED STATES, THIS WOULD BE A SACRIFICE OF LIVES. HE SAID THAT THERE NEEDED TO BE AN ESTABLISHED PLAN OF ACTION, THAT DAY-TO-DAY PLANNING WAS JUST NOT WORKING.

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CLASSES COMPARED DIFFERENT POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND THEORIES, INCLUDING MARXISM AND LENINISM. SHE SAID THAT THERE WERE CURRENTLY 330 STUDENTS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 14 AND 25 IN HER INSTITUTE. STUDENTS WERE NOT ACCEPTED IF THEY BELONGED TO ANY PARTICULAR PARTY AND IF THEY WERE ALREADY PARTY MEMBERS THEIR PARTIES WERE OBLIGED TO EDUCATE THEM. SHE SAID THAT SHE WAS FORCED TO PAY TEACHERS ABOUT FIVE TIMES THE NORMAL SALARY BECAUSE MOST WERE EMPLOYED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND IN DANGER OF LOSING THEIR STATUS BECAUSE OF TEACHING IN THE INSTITUTE. ARGUELLO SAID SHE WAS OPENING A NEW SCHOOL FOR ABOUT 80 STUDENTS

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IN GRANADA. SHE SAID THAT THE FUNDS FOR THE SCHOOLS COME FROM A RESERVE LEFT FROM A DONATION BY A DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION IN VENEZUELA.

43. CHINANDEGA -

ON THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 3, THE CODEL JOURNEYED TO CHINANDEGA. SOME 50 PERSONS OF THE LOWER AND

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MIDDLE CLASSES TURNED OUT TO MEET WITH CONGRESSMAN ASPIN. IN WHAT WAS AN EXTREMELY HEATED AND EMOTIONAL MEETING, THE ATTENDEES ROUNDLY CRITICIZED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR ITS FAILURE TO SUPPORT PRESIDENT REAGAN IN TAKING ACTIONS WHICH WOULD HASTEN THE DEMISE OF THE FSLN.

44. ON THE QUESTION OF LAND CONFISCATION, ONE GENTLEMAN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN A SMALL FARMER OWNING 50 MANZANAS OF LAND (ONE MANZANA EQUALS 1.7 ACRES). HE SAID THAT FIVE YEARS AFTER THE FSLN HAD TAKEN POWER, TURBAS, WITHOUT PROVOCATION, TOOK HIS LAND, HIS MACHINERY AND HIS PERSONAL PROPERTY. HIS CRIME, HE SAID, WAS THAT HE WAS ACCUSED OF NOT BEING A MARXIST-LENINIST. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, PERSONS IN THE GROUP AGREED THAT IN THE CHINANDEGA AREA, SOME 15 SMALL PRODUCERS HAD HAD THEIR LAND CONFISCATED.

45. ON THE QUESTION OF INCREASED FSLN PRESSURES SINCE THE OCTOBER 15 STATE OF EMERGENCY DECREE, THE PEOPLE SAID THAT THEY WERE WATCHED AND THERE WERE FOOD SHORTAGES. BUT THE PRESSURES WERE NOT VERY DIFFERENT FROM WHAT THEY HAD EXPERIENCED PRIOR TO OCTOBER 15.

46. ON THE QUESTION OF THE CDS'S, THE PEOPLE SAID THAT IN CHINANDEGA THERE WERE FEW CDS ACTIVISTS. THEY SAID THAT WHEN THE FSLN HELD A RALLY, THOSE FSLN SUPPORTERS STILL ACTIVE IN THE AREA HAD TO GO THROUGH THE NEIGHBORHOODS THREATENING TO CONFISCATE RATION CARDS IF PEOPLE DID NOT ATTEND. THEY SAID A LAW IMPOSING A FINE OF 100 CORDOBAS FOR LOSING RATION CARDS HAD RECENTLY BEEN DECREED. A TAXI

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DRIVER CLAIMED THAT PROFESSIONAL DRIVERS WERE NOW OBLIGATED TO SPEND PART OF THEIR TIME REPAIRING ROADWAYS. FAILURE TO DO SO, HE SAID, RESULTED IN THE IMPOSITION OF A MONETARY FINE. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CONFEDERATION OF LABOR UNIFICATION (CUS) COMPLAINED THAT SOME CUS MEMBERS HAD HAD THEIR RATIONS CUT SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY BELONGED TO CUS. A SPEAKER FROM THE NEARBY TOWN OF EL VIEJO SAID THAT DURING HOLY WEEK SANDINISTA YOUTHS HAD COMMITTED SEVERAL "SHAMEFUL ACTS." HE SAID THEY THREW FIRE CRACKERS AT THE PROCESSION AND THAT ON THE EVENING PRECEDING THE PROCESSION, HE HAD PLACED A PICTURE OF THE POPE OUTSIDE HIS HOUSE. DURING THE NIGHT, HE SAID, HIS WINDOW WAS BROKEN AND THE PICTURE OF THE POPE DESTROYED.

47. ON THE QUESTION OF REPRESSION, A NUMBER OF PERSONS AT THE MEETING POINTED OUT THAT THEY HAD BEEN DETAINED ONE DAY AFTER THE CARDINAL HAD SAID MASS IN CHINANDEGA. THEIR CRIME, THEY SAID, WAS THAT THEY HAD ORGANIZED THE CARDINAL'S PROGRAM. A WOMAN COMPLAINED OF SANDINISTA RESTRICTIONS OF PARENTS' ABILITY TO RAISE A CHILD AS THEY SAW FIT. SHE SAID HER OWN SON HAD BEEN DRAFTED INTO THE MILITARY SERVICE AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD REFUSED TO GIVE HER INFORMATION ON HIS WHEREABOUTS.

48. ON THE QUESTION OF THE 1984 ELECTIONS, THEY TOLD THE STORY OF ARTURO CRUZ'S RALLY IN CHINANDEGA, THE HARASSMENT RALLY ORGANIZERS SUFFERED BEFORE CRUZ'S ARRIVAL AND ACTIONS OF TURBAS DURING THE RALLY. SEVERAL SAID CRUZ'S EXPERIENCE IN CHINANDEGA HAD CONVINCED THEM THAT COORDINADORA SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS. ASKED HOW MANY

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PEOPLE IN THE ROOM HAD VOTED IN THE ELECTIONS, ONLY FOUR PERSONS RAISED THEIR HANDS. THE OTHERS DENIED HAVING GONE TO THE POLLS. THOSE ADMITTING HAVING VOTED SAID THAT LOCAL CDS'S HAD PASSED THROUGH THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS BEFORE AND ON ELECTION DAY THREATENING THEM WITH TURBAS AND CONFISCATION OF RATION CARDS IF THEY FAILED TO GO TO THE POLLS. ONE WOMAN SAID SHE HAD VOTED BECAUSE SHE WANTED TO BE SURE THAT SHE COULD CONTINUE TO GET AN EXIT VISA.

49. ON THE QUESTION OF THE DRAFT, THEY SAID THERE WAS NO SUCH THING AS A VOLUNTEER FOR THE EPS. IT WAS THE LAW THAT A YOUNG MAN HAD TO SERVE AND THE COMBINATION OF PROPAGANDA AND BAD TREATMENT OF THOSE WHO EVADED THE DRAFT HAD ENCOURAGED YOUNG MEN TO EITHER JOIN THE MILITARY OR LEAVE THE COUNTRY. "WE ARE NOT FIGHTING INVADERS," THEY SAID, "THIS IS A CIVIL WAR: WE ARE A COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY THE

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SOVIET UNION AND OUR BATTLE IS INTERNAL."

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50. REGARDING PRISON CONDITIONS, ONE MAN DESCRIBED HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN ARRESTED JUST AFTER ARTURO CRUZ'S RALLY IN CHINANDEGA. HE SAID HE WAS HELD IN ISOLATION FOR 21 DAYS. AFTER GETTING OUT OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT HE SAID HE HAD SHARED A CELL WITH A ROBERTO MONTEALEGRE WHOSE CRIME HAD BEEN RUNNING AWAY FROM A POLICEMAN. HE SAID MONTEALEGRE WAS HEALTHY AT THAT TIME BUT

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A FEW MONTHS LATER, AFTER HE AND MONTEALEGRE HAD BEEN RELEASED, HE SAW MONTEALEGRE AGAIN. AT THAT TIME MONTEALEGRE WAS DISFIGURED AND DYING.

51. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION PERTAINING TO FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN THE GON, ONE YOUNG MAN WHO HAD FOUGHT IN THE REVOLUTION AND JOINED THE SANDINISTA POLICE AFTER JULY 1979 SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN PUT IN CHARGE OF POLICE PROCEDURES IN MANAGUA. SHORTLY AFTER ASSUMING HIS DUTIES HE FOUND THAT A BULGARIAN HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO SHADOW HIM AND CONTERMIND HIS ORDERS. THE YOUNG MAN BECAME DISENCHANTED WITH THAT SITUATION AND COMPLAINED. HE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED TO THE PERSONNEL OFFICE AND ADVISED HE WAS TO BE TRANSFERRED TO PUERTO CABEZAS. HE SAID HE REFUSED THE TRANSFER AND RESIGNED FROM THE POLICE FORCE. HE SUBSEQUENTLY JOINED AND BECAME AN ACTIVIST IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PSD).

52. ANOTHER WOMAN SAID THAT ON MARCH 12 HER HUSBAND HAD BEEN TAKEN FROM HIS HOME AT 1:00 PM BY STATE SECURITY OFFICERS. HE WAS TAKEN TO THE STATE SECURITY PRISON IN THE AREA, QUINTA J. STATE

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SECURITY, SHE SAID, HAD REFUSED TO SAY WHY HER HUSBAND HAD BEEN DETAINED. SHE SAID SHE HAS SEEN HER HUSBAND ONCE SINCE MARCH 12 AND WAS TOLD SHE COULD SEE HIM AGAIN ON APRIL 4.

53. ON THE QUESTION OF CONTRAS, IT WAS THE CONSENSUS OF THE PEOPLE THERE THAT THE CONTRAS WERE GOOD. THEY SAID THAT NICARAGUA WOULD NEVER BE A NEW VIETNAM. THEY SAID THAT HERE "WE DON'T WANT THE SANDINISTAS." THEY SAID THE GON CALLED THE CONTRAS MERCENARIES BUT THEY WERE REALLY NICARAGUANS AND HAD A RIGHT TO LIVE IN NICARAGUA. THE REAL MERCENARIES, THEY SAID, WERE THE FSLN WITH ITS CUBAN, BULGARIAN, EAST GERMAN AND LIBYAN ADVISORS. THEY NOTED THAT IN THEIR OPINION MOST OF THOSE FIGHTING IN THE FDN WERE CAMPESINOS. "WE DON'T BELIEVE THE FDN EQUALS THE NATIONAL GUARD." MOREOVER, THEY SAID, THE THREE LEADERS OF UNO WERE ANTI-SOMOCISTAS. ONE WOMAN NOTED THAT NEARLY ALL EX-NATIONAL GUARDSMEN

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PRESENTLY IN THE FDN HAD BEEN "SMALL FISH" IN THE NATIONAL GUARD. THEY SAID THE U.S. HAD A "MORAL OBLIGATION" TO SUPPORT THEIR REBELLION AGAINST THE SANDINISTAS. THEY SAID THE U.S. SHOULD SUPPORT BOTH THEIR CIVIC AND ARMED REBELLION. ONE MAN, WHO SAID HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY, SAID THE U.S. MUST GIVE THE POLITICAL PARTIES ECONOMIC HELP. "WE ARE EXPECTED TO DO GRASS ROOTS WORK," HE SAID, "BUT WE DON'T EVEN OWN A BICYCLE."

54. THE SOCIAL CHRISTIANS AND THE LIBERAL INDEPENDENTS

AT A DINNER HOSTED BY THE AMBASSADOR ON APRIL 3, THE CODEL MET WITH BAYARDO GUZMAN OF THE LIBERAL INDEPENDENT

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INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV PHUM PREL, NU US
SUBJECT: CODEL ASPIN WRAPUP

SAID THAT, TO HIS KNOWLEDGE, ONLY HE AND ONE OTHER
"PRACTICING" JEW REMAIN IN NICARAGUA. UPON SAYING FARE-
WELL TO THE VISITORS, MR. LEVY ASKED THEM NOT TO QUOTE HIM
OR USE HIS NAME.

65. MANAGEMENT OF LA PRENSA

MR. ARONSON AND MR. LEIKEN ALSO MET WITH VIOLETA
CHAMORRO, JAIME CHAMORRO, ROBERTO CARDENAL, PABLO ANTONIO
CUADRA AND MRS. CHAMORRO'S DAUGHTER, CRISTIANA, ALL OF
THE MANAGEMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT DAILY LA PRENSA. THE
MAIN TOPIC OF DISCUSSION WAS THE APPARENT DISUNITY IN THE
INTERNAL POLITICAL OPPOSITION. MR. LEIKEN AND
MR. ARONSON EMPHASIZED TO THE LA PRENSA DIRECTORS THAT
IN ORDER TO GAIN SUPPORT FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND,
PARTICULARLY, THE CONGRESS, THE OPPOSITION HAD TO PROVIDE
THE FOLLOWING: AN ORGANIZED ALTERNATIVE TO THE SANDI-
NISTAS; A UNIFIED FRONT AND A UNIFIED PROGRAM OF DEMOCRATIC
REFORMS; AND A LEADER WHO IS RECOGNIZABLE TO THE AMERICAN

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PEOPLE AND ABOVE CRITICISM. THE OBVIOUS CHOICE, ACCORDING
TO BOTH LEIKEN AND ARONSON, WAS VIOLETA CHAMORRO. THEY
DREW PARALLELS BETWEEN HER BACKGROUND AND THAT OF CORAZON
AQUINO OF THE PHILIPPINES. MR. LEIKEN THEN SAID THAT IN
ORDER TO RALLY SUPPORT, THERE ALSO HAD TO BE THE
EMERGENCE OF GREAT DISCONTENT, INTERNALLY, WITH THE
SANDINISTAS AND AN APPEARANCE THAT THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE
WERE "DISPOSED TO STRUGGLE" AGAINST THE REGIME.

66. MRS. CHAMORRO DEMURRED, CITING PHYSICAL PROBLEMS,
HER AGE, THE PRESSURES THAT SHE WOULD BE SUBJECTED TO AND
HER FEAR OF BEING A "SACRIFICIAL LAMB." JAIME CHAMORRO
MENTIONED THE DIFFICULTIES THE POLITICAL PARTIES FACED IN
TRYING TO ORGANIZE GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT BECAUSE OF GON
HARASSMENT OF ORGANIZERS AND CENSORSHIP OF RELATED NEWS
ITEMS. PABLO ANTONIO CUADRA STATED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL

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PRESS PLACED TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE GUERRILLA WAR AND TOO LITTLE ON THE "INTERNAL IDEOLOGICAL WAR."

67. ALTERNATIVES TO MRS. CHAMORRO AS THE RALLYING "SYMBOL" WERE DISCUSSED AND DISMISSED. CRUZ, ROBELO, AND CALERO WERE SEEN AS TOO CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATIVE TO BE EFFECTIVE IN THIS ROLE, ACCORDING TO LEIKEN AND ARONSON.

68. JAIME CHAMORRO MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE A VERY DIFFICULT TIME ORGANIZING. THE CONSERVATIVES (PCN) HAD RECENTLY TRIED TO ORGANIZE SMALL MEETINGS (10-15 PEOPLE) IN THE MASAYA AREA, BUT STATE SECURITY (DGSE) HAD CALLED IN THE ORGANIZERS AND MADE THE PEOPLE FEARFUL. "THEY DON'T WANT THAT KIND OF TROUBLE," HE SAID;

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B) "LA PRENSA" HAD TRIED TO PUBLISH A STRAIGHT NEWS ARTICLE HEADLINED "PARTIES TRY TO FIND UNITY" BUT IT WAS CENSORED. WITHOUT ACCESS TO RADIO, TV OR NEWSPAPERS, THE PARTIES HAVE DIFFICULTY PRESENTING THEIR PROGRAMS TO THE PEOPLE;

C) VIOLETA CHAMORRO HAD, IN FACT, BEEN OFFERED THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COORDINADORA, BUT HAD TURNED IT DOWN.

69. PABLO ANTONIO CUADRA PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING IDEAS:

A) THE SANDINISTAS CONTINUALLY CRIED OUT IN THE FOREIGN FORUMS ABOUT "SELF-DETERMINATION" OF THE PEOPLE AND OTHERS RALLIED AROUND, BUT THERE NEEDED TO BE PROOF OF THIS "SELF-DETERMINATION" IN THE FORM OF FREE ELECTIONS; AND,

B) THERE WAS TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE GUERRILLA WAR AND PEOPLE FORGOT ABOUT THE INTERNAL IDEOLOGICAL WAR. IF THE IDEOLOGICAL WAR WAS LOST, ALL WAS LOST.

70. MR. ARONSON SAID THAT, IN HIS OPINION, THE OPPOSITION HAD A YEAR OR MAYBE TWO TO DISLODGE THE SANDINISTAS. IF THEY WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL IN THAT TIME, THE SANDINISTAS WERE IN FOR A LONG, LONG TIME AND NICARAGUA WOULD LIKELY BECOME A SECOND CUBA.

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71. THE PROBLEMS LA PRENSA FACED WERE DISCUSSED AND MR. LEIKEN SAID THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY, AS WELL AS OTHER GROUPS, WERE READY TO PROVIDE GREATER FINANCIAL SUPPORT, BUT ONLY IF THERE WERE A TRUE UNITED FRONT.

72. JAIME CHAMORRO AND PABLO ANTONIO CUADRA PROVIDED

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV PHUM PREL, NU US
SUBJECT: CODEL ASPIN WRAPUP

MR. LEIKEN AND MR. ARONSON WITH COPIES OF CENSORED ITEMS AND VIOLETA CHAMORRO GAVE LEIKEN AND ARONSON A COPY OF A LETTER SHE HAD SENT TO THE CONTADORA AND SUPPORT GROUP GOVERNMENTS ASKING THAT THEY CONSIDER MEETING IN MANAGUA WHERE THEY WOULD HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY, AS A GROUP, TO VIEW THE SITUATION FIRST HAND.

73. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS -

CODEL ASPIN LUNCED APRIL 4 WITH LINO HERNANDEZ, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PERMANENT COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (CPDH); ENRIQUE SOTELO BORGES, DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATIVE PARTY (NON-OFFICIAL) MEMBER AND DEFENSE LAWYER; AND ROGER GUEVARA, SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE NICARAGUAN BAR ASSOCIATION. THEY PROVIDED A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE DETERIORATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS

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NICARAGUA HAS EXPERIENCED AT THE HANDS OF THE SANDINISTAS.

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74. LINO HERNANDEZ OF THE CPDH OPENED THE SESSION WITH AN OVERVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS SINCE THE OCTOBER 15 IMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY. HE SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED DETERIORATION, WHICH HE DIVIDED INTO THREE MAIN CATEGORIES. THE FIRST WAS THE CAMPAIGN OF DETENTIONS AIMED AT INTIMIDATING CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS. PEOPLE NEVER BEFORE DETAINED HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. FIFTEEN PRIESTS HAD BEEN INTERROGATED BY THE DGSE (DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF STATE SECURITY) SINCE NOVEMBER. BESIDES BEING INTERROGATED THEY WERE FINGERPRINTED AND PHOTOGRAPHED. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S NEWSPAPER WAS CLOSED, THE OFFICES OF THE CHURCH SOCIAL ACTION ORGANIZATION WERE CLOSED, AND THE CHURCH RADIO STATION WAS SHUT OFF. ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY CHURCH RELATED PEOPLE, SUCH AS LAYWORKERS AND LEADERS OF CHARISMATIC GROUPS HAD BEEN DETAINED SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF INTIMIDATION.

75. THE SECOND MAJOR AREA EVIDENCING THE DETERIORATING CONDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS THE PRISONS. THE CONDITION OF THE PRISONS AND THE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HAD BECOME WORSE. HERNANDEZ SAID THAT THE SANDINISTAS HAD BECOME MUCH CRUELER. COMMON CRIMINALS WERE PUT IN THE SAME CELLS AS POLITICAL PRISONERS, WHOM THEY BEAT AND ROB. THE GUARDS ENCOURAGE THIS, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT POLITICAL PRISONERS WERE ABUSED WITHOUT THE GON HAVING TO DO IT. THESE CHANGES HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE OFFICIAL PENAL SYSTEM. IN THE DGSE PRISONS, CONDITIONS ALSO HAD BECOME WORSE -- PRISONERS WERE KEPT IN DARK UNDERGROUND CELLS, WERE NOT ALLOWED

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TO USE NAMES, ONLY NUMBERS, AND WERE DEPRIVED OF FOOD AND WATER. HERNANDEZ ADDED THAT BESIDES THE

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PENAL PRISONS AND THE DGSE PRISONS, THERE WAS A THIRD PRISON SYSTEM IN NICARAGUA, USED FOR SHOW AND "EXPORTATION". FOREIGN VISITORS WERE BROUGHT IN TO SEE THE PRISONERS SING AND DANCE, AND EXCLAIM HOW HAPPY THEY WERE. THIS SYSTEM WAS MAINTAINED TO FOOL VISITING DELEGATIONS WHICH, ADDED HERNANDEZ, WAS EASY TO DO WITH PEOPLE FROM NORTH AMERICA.

76. THE FINAL CATEGORY IN WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS HAD DETERIORATED SINCE OCTOBER WAS THE SITUATION OF THE CAMPESINOS. SINCE DECEMBER, THE DGSE BEGAN A SERIES OF MASSIVE ARRESTS OF THOSE NOT MEMBERS OF SANDINISTA ORGANIZATIONS, OR THOSE APPEARING TO BE INVOLVED WITH THE CONTRAS. THESE MASSIVE CAPTURES WERE CENTERED IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF NUEVA GUINEA, ESTELI, NUEVA SEGOVIA AND MATAGALPA. THE SITUATION IN THE LATTER DEPARTMENT WAS ESPECIALLY BAD, AS ALL THE MEN IN SOME AREAS HAD BEEN EITHER ARRESTED OR DRAFTED.

77. ENRIQUE SOTELO GAVE AN OVERVIEW OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN NICARAGUA, SAYING THAT THERE WERE TWO TYPES OF JUSTICE IN SANDINISTA NICARAGUA, COMMON AND POLITICAL. THE REGULAR COURTS HAD BEEN DIMINISHED IN AUTHORITY, AND EVEN THE SUPREME COURT WAS NOT ALLOWED TO INTERFERE WITH THE POLITICAL COURT. THERE WAS NO HABEAS CORPUS IN NICARAGUA, AND SOTELO SAID THAT THE SITUATION REALLY HAD NOT BEEN CHANGED BY THE STATE OF EMERGENCY DECREED IN OCTOBER 1985.

78. THE POLITICAL COURT, OR THE POPULAR ANTI-SOMOCISTA TRIBUNALS (TPAS), TRIED ALL STATE SECURITY CASES IN THE COUNTRY. THERE WAS ONLY ONE SUCH COURT, IN MANAGUA. ITS

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
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SUBJECT: CODEL ASPIN WRAPUP

TRIALS WERE SECRET, OPEN ONLY TO THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY, THE DEFENSE LAWYER, STATE SECURITY POLICE AND THE JUDGE. THE ONLY EVIDENCE ADMITTED IN THE TPAS WAS THE TESTIMONY OF THE DEFENDANT; TESTIMONY OBTAINED IN THE CELLS OF STATE SECURITY BY FORCE. CURRENTLY, SOME 3,000 PRISONERS HAD CASES PENDING BEFORE THE TPAS. IN MR. SOTELO'S EXPERIENCE, ONLY ABOUT ONE PERCENT COULD EXPECT TO BE FOUND INNOCENT. THE SENTENCES HANDED DOWN BY THE TPAS RANGE FROM THREE TO 30 YEARS. GUEVARA ADDED THAT THE SANDINISTAS WERE PLANNING A NEW PENAL CODE THAT WOULD ALLOW THEM TO TRY POLITICAL PRISONERS WITHOUT THE TPAS, THUS SCORING A PUBLIC RELATIONS COUP BY DISBANDING THE INFAMOUS TRIBUNALS.

79. SOTELO ESTIMATED THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS TO BE IN THE THOUSANDS. THERE WERE ONE THOUSAND TO TWO THOUSAND SENTENCED: MOST WERE CAMPESINOS. ANOTHER 1,500 TO 2,000 WERE ON TRIAL. LINO HERNANDEZ THEGAVE THE CPDH ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE POINTED OUT THAT NO OFFICIAL REPORT ON POLITICAL

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PRISONERS HAD EVER BEEN RELEASED BY THE GON. HE SAID THERE WAS A TOTAL OF 6,500 TO 7,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS IN NICARAGUA. TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED ARE EX-NATIONAL GUARD. ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED WERE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN SENTENCED BY THE TPAS. ANOTHER 1,500 @_E,F0.4

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84. BERNARD ARONSON CONCLUDED THE MEETING BY GIVING AN OVERVIEW OF OPINION IN CONGRESS. HE SAID THE SANDINISTAS NO LONGER HAD ANY SUPPORTERS, BUT THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON WHAT U.S. POLICY SHOULD BE. HE ADDED THAT THERE WAS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD "SELL OUT" THE OPPOSITION, BUT HE HOPED INSTEAD THAT IT WOULD HELP THEM REGAIN FREEDOM.

85. IN ADDITION TO THE MEETINGS WITH GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION FIGURES, THE ENTIRE DELEGATION WAS BRIEFED BY AMBASSADOR BERGOLD JUST AFTER ITS ARRIVAL. CONGRESSMAN ASPIN SUBSEQUENTLY HAD PRIVATE BRIEFINGS ON THE CONTRAS BY THE AIRA, DGSE COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES BY THE RSO AND THE ECONOMIC SITUATION BY THE CHIEF OF THE ECONOMIC SECTION. BERGOLD

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NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-0, J. WAGNER.

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